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The Christian Socialist

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THE COMING REVOLUTION

HUMAN progress is marked by sudden revolutions, but *revolution* is merely *evolution* bursting into bloom. The lily-bulb waits all winter in the cold, dark ground preparing for the spring. It sprouts and sends its roots deep into the earth for a firm grasp upon the sources of life below, while its tender stock shoots up to meet the sun and air. For months the plant slowly grows, then puts forth buds, which grow for weeks, until, at last, in a single night, the flower appears full-blown.

The processes of evolution are obscure and slow until it blooms in revolution and glorifies mankind.

The revolution of the 18th century gave to the leading nations equal political rights — *self-government through the ballot*. The revolution of the 20th century will give them equal economic rights through *collective ownership* of all the wealth they produce. For it has been forced slowly upon the minds of the people by dire necessity that the ballot is useless without bread; that "freedom" is but an empty name if one is doomed to drudgery and want; that "political equality" is impossible until *economic equality* is an *established fact*.

All thoughtful men behold the unmistakable signs of economic evolution and foresee *a coming change;* but just what it will be the masses have not yet determined. But special students of political economy, with few exceptions, declare the revolution will be from *selfish individualism* and *private ownership* of the means of life to *unselfish brotherhood* and *collective ownership* of all the means of life.

One hundred years ago there was no steam-engine, railway or telegraph. Unlimited land, timber, ore lay open to whomsoever would claim them. All work was done *by hand*. Any industrious person could make an excellent living and become well-to-do.

Today all is different. Steam, railroads, the telegraph, have brought the ends of the earth together. Land, ore, timber, are monopolized by powerful syndicates. *Hand work has given way to machinery*. Where a thousand blacksmiths, cabinet-makers or shoe-makers once wrought independently with success, now one vast factory employs them as mere day-workmen — with uncertain jobs and meager pay. The individual cannot compete with the machine. The small shop has no chance against the great factory. Thus a new grade of citizens has been produced in America to match the same in Europe—the *proletariat*—the wage-workers, who own neither their tools nor their jobs. They work in factories owned by other men, upon whose good pleasure they are dependent for the means of life.

The American workmen are no longer free. They are *under the machine*, practically owned by the men who own the machines by which they must obtain a living for their families. The freemen of the past are the wage-slaves of today; *for the ones who own the jobs own the men who work at them.*

Within one hundred years the PRODUCTION of wealth has become COLLECTIVE. Men no longer work *independently* for themselves, but *in droves* for other men, who fix the wages, hours of labor and conditions of employment. But while the PRODUCTION of wealth has become collective, the OWNERSHIP of the wealth produced has gone the other way. Where all had plenty a century ago, now half our people have not enough to live on comfortably. The owners of the mines, railroads, factories, etc., rob the workers of the wealth they produce. The proportion of the wealth produced by the worker *which he receives for his labor* has fallen, in *forty years*, from 67 to 17 per cent—to less than one-fifth of his whole product. The average American workingman produces $2450 worth of commodities each year, while he receives in wages but $437. That is, whereas the feudal serf of the middle ages was only required to work ONE day for his master, and one for himself—receiving HALF the product of his labor, the American wage-slave is compelled to work FOUR DAYS for his master to every ONE for himself, receiving less than ONE-FIFTH of the product of his labor!

For this reason the wealth of America has fallen into the hands of a few. Less than 10 per cent of the people own more than 90 per cent of the wealth of the nation; and more than 90 per cent of the people own less than 10 per cent of the wealth which they have created.

"For the toilers have the least
While the idlers lord the feast."

For awhile the farmer seemed independent and refused to be classed with his more unfortunate brother, the wage-worker. But the railroads have placed him at the mercy of the grain dealer; the beef trust fixes the price of his live-stock, poultry, eggs and butter, and numerous other combines decide what he shall pay for machinery, tools, clothes and everything he buys; so that he, too, feels the frightful blight of capitalistic robbery and oppression.

But their misfortunes are arousing the people to thought and action. They see that the cause of their poverty is the fact that those who PRODUCE the wealth do not OWN it, and they are raising a new campaign cry: TO THE WORKER BELONGS HIS PRODUCT. AS WEALTH IS [illegible] PRODUCED IT MUST BE COLLECTIVELY OWNED.

Thoughtful men see that the selfish, foolish policy of individualism has resulted in poverty and oppression for the masses. They see also that only by *brotherly co-operation* can the workers ever become rich and free. Therefore they are giving up their wicked schemes to rob their brothers and are working together for the coming CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

This does not mean mere "public ownership of public utilities." Poverty abounds in the European cities in spite of that. It means *collective ownership by all the people* of all the means of producing wealth and all of the wealth produced. It means one great trust of all trusts, owning and operating all things, of which every man and woman in the nation shall be an *equal partner* with every other,—true social brotherhood, wherein idleness and poverty will be unknown.

This is the coming revolution. It is the light that shone into prophetic eyes long, long ago. This is the glad breeze that refreshes the face of the 20th century. This is "the hope of the ages"—the millennial dawn. This is SOCIALISM.

EDWARD ELLIS CARR.

TEN MILLION POOR

"Ten million poor in America today."—Robert Hunter, "Poverty."

TEN million poor! yet we pass on
Pursuing daily wealth and ease,
Unmindful that each morrow's dawn
Adds more and more and more to these.
We pass. No pittance from the purse
Shall lift from us this blighting curse.

Ten million poor! yet we pursue
With eager haste the things they need;
Well knowing that the wealthy few
Means millions poor, we yet nurse greed.
With crass contempt or unconcern
We pass; then wonder when these turn.

Ten million poor! yet parsons prate
Of brotherhood and bless Christ's name
In sight of these whose present state
Stands for His failure and our shame.
But *one* man poor and unrelieved—
The soul of Christ is grieved, is grieved.

Ten million poor! and more and more,
And nothing promised in the stead
Of hunger, cold, disease they bore!
O Brothers! have we hearts of lead?
Sure, stony hearts at this strike fire
And flame to warmth with Love's desire.

Ten million poor! Ten million poor!
And thousands starved each day and night.
Up, Comrades, and pronounce the cure!—
Maintain their manhood and their right.
The right to have an equal share;
The right for it to do and dare.

The peopled earth with plenty flows.
Ah me, ah me, that millions want!
The gracious gift of Nature goes
To folk who fling this bitter taunt:
"If ye are poor ye are unfit."
Ten million poor 'tis safe to twit.

But when the millions multiply,
As daily in our sight they do,
Beware how thus ye then shall cry
And curse them as the worthless crew.
The fiends of hell alone should feel
The cursed contempt ye scarce conceal.

And not a fiend of nether hell
Should harbor in his breast content
While mortals have to beg or knell
Their manhood lost, their virtue spent.
Yet we, dear God, grow gross with greed
While millions have for food to plead.

At the Live-Oaks
Turnersville, Texas.

EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTZ.

Francis E. Willard said: "I believe that competition is doomed. The trusts, whose object is to abolish competition, have proved that we are better without than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product they combine. What SOCIALISTS desire is that THE CORPORATION OF HUMANITY should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; IT ELIMINATES THE MOTIVES FOR A SELFISH LIFE; it enacts into our every-day living the ethics of Christ's gospel. NOTHING ELSE WILL DO IT; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood. OH, THAT I WERE YOUNG AGAIN, AND IT SHOULD HAVE MY LIFE! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land. IT IS THE VERY MARROW OF CHRIST'S GOSPEL. It is Christianity applied."

THE NEW NOBILITY

BY GEORGE ELMER LITTLEFIELD

A NEW Fourth of July is coming—an economic Independence Day—the celebration of the wage-slaves' independence and liberty. Less than a quarter of a century hence, the 4th of July will be the anniversary of the overthrow of capitalism and the birthday of man's industrial emancipation, and the universal recognition of the new nobility of the workers, as wholly superseding the old (s)nobility of the parasites of blue blood and bad money.

Civilization has been a long time moving up a number of stages coming to this recognition.

Probably cannibalism was the first economic status—that of man-hunting for a living. The captors were a "superior class" and having club, boomerang and spear, easily got their weaponless captives "in the soup." But it became evident that captives forced to toil for their captors could produce unlimited if not such savory soup, was better economy, hence came the next status of man-owning master and Labor the slave. Another age passed and the feudal lord or baron took the place of the slave-holder, and Labor was the serf. Then, when feudalism was succeeded by capitalism, with its modern form of mastery—machine ownership, our latest phase of economics—Labor became the drudge, or wage-slave, at the mercy of the capitalist tribe who wield the interest-club, rent-spear and profit boomerang. Not yet is Labor invested with its full dignity and rank. Not quite yet does the worker bear his rightful title of the new nobleman. Why? Because, as the era of cannibalism passed into the age of slavery, and the age of slavery into the era of feudalism ere the exploited class could become even serfs, so our era of capitalism, that succeeded feudalism, must pass and give place to a millennium of national and international co-operative partnership ere the workers shall be given their just rank and all men rejoice in their true nobility.

We are now in the final stage of capitalism. Its wage and competitive principles are about to strangle and overthrow it. But it will die hard as it sees the framework of the grand new commonwealth which we Socialists are erecting. The worker is still a drudge or wage-slave because capitalism by a subtle hocus-pocus of profit, rent, interest and taxes still beguiles the masses into dreaming that it rightfully possesses the means of production and distribution—because our capitalistic masters yet own the great mills, machines, store houses and carrier systems of industry. It is as if the little man (aggregate of capitalists, middlemen, etc.,) owned a mammoth barrel into which the big man (aggregate of workers, a [illegible] bigger than the capitalist class,) was continually pouring the product of his [illegible] receiving less than half in a little wage-barrel which drips at rent and profit leaks. What happens when Giant Labor continually fills the big capitalistic barrel from which less than half is allowed to flow off into the little wage-barrel? Why, as our 75,000,000 workers comsume daily all in their little half-barrel, and the 5,000,000 drones with their satellites and waste cannot by any means dispose of the ever increasing surplus left in the big barrel, therefore, every once in a while there is a glut or overflow in the big barrel and "hard times" come. In vain do the pigmy capitalists cause to be made a larger and larger barrel for capital, and a slightly larger half barrel for wages, Giant Labor still lives from hand to mouth, filling as well as making the big barrel of capital, and so, inevitably, more frequently and more woefully creating the very "prosperity" that leads to "hard times"—that is, shut-downs and enforced idleness until the squandering consumption of capitalists and their lackeys and retainers reduces the surplus.

Can the labor unions solve this problem?

Labor unionism means that the workers' little half-barrel shall be made a two-thirds, perhaps a three-quarter barrel, and through union Giant Labor presses on toward liberty and independence—toward the new nobility of labor.

But it is easy to perceive that when unionism reaches a certain draft on pigmy capital's big barrel, he will head it up and plug the spigot; that is, he will suspend business, or resort to military force for aid in its operation, or both, when profits ebb too low; and our capitalistic method of production is so wasteful that its profit ceases long before the big barrel is empty. Or, to put it another way, the capitalist and his big barrel are on one end of a balance-board and labor with its little barrel are on the other end, like the the coal operators and the miners in the great strike. The operators' end went down, then the situation was reversed until Roosevelt's arbitration commission was called by a threatening public to "balance" the industrial see-saw. Will it stay balanced? Impossible! There can be no stable equilibrium where opponents are always watching for a strategic advantage. Soon down again tilts the capitalist's end, then down again will go the workers' end and war recurs ever anew. If this tilting strife should sometimes seem to permanently favor the workers, then the capitalist would jump off his end, like a sulky boy, declaring "I wont play! I'll shut down my mines, my mills, all the business of the country rather than operate without a good profit," or else he will combine with his class to crush the labor unions and call out the subservient army to his aid, as was done in Colorado.

Thus we behold Labor in its final struggle toward its birthright, and within plain sight of its true position, power, possibility and dignity; and still kept back, lowly, and prevented from achieving its high place and honor by our present dog-in-the-manger economic status. And we also begin to realize that labor unionism alone will be ineffectual so long as capitalism exists. Furthermore, as Marx teaches, the time has about come when the enlargement of the big barrel may be completed without further consideration of the little wage barrel (the trust is the sign of the end of capitalistic competition and the culmination of wage-beggary), so that a more dire and chronic state of "prosperity" (for the rich few) and "hard times" (for the poor millions) must inevitably ensue. Therefore, soon, organized capitalism, reaching the acme of its despotic stage, despite labor unions, will force a favored part of the workers to labor for the barest subsistence. Unless some other factor—the political factor, the workingman's ballot—operates to benefit the the workers, they must become more than ever desperate drudges, SLAVES INDEED! Giant Labor, like Caliban allowing Prospero to control him body and mind and drive him, will beg of the pigmy capitalist to let him work for any old wage. With ten million poor next door to want in America now, think of this fearful condition increased two-fold in the next decade!

This will be intolerable!

What then?

Why, a new Declaration of Independence, a new revolution and the substitution of Socialism for despotism.

And we Socialists are doing our part in the evolutionary process toward the overthrow of a plutocratic Cæsarism which is growing worse than George III Toryism, or even feudal serfism or brutal slavery, and begets the Brutus for its own destruction. We Socialists are the only people, or world-wide party now working through the peaceful, orderly method of the ballot to replace our present economic anarchism with a Socialistic system where the little half wage-barrel will be placed in the museum for antiquities and the millions of the world's workers will take possession of their own big capital-barrel, containing their united product — enough for the sumptuous feast of all, with higher individualism and nobler incentives for all—and restore its contents (no dividing up) justly, *equitably*, to everyone according to his work, daily, through the people's own stores and means of distribution.

This great revolution will be accomplished at the polls—in the United States possibly in 1912. Of course this will abolish the rich and the poor, the capitalist and wage *classes*, the master and slave castes, leaving but ONE BROTHERHOOD CLASS in all the civilized world — the mighty working class—the New Nobility living in the glorious Co-operative Commonwealth.

Single Tax and Socialism

IN a large audience, assembled at the Tabernacle, Long Beach, Cal., to listen to the debate between John Z. White of Chicago, one of the foremost exponents of the single tax theory, and Rev. Edward [illegible] Cantrell of Minneapolis, the able speaker for the Socialists, a most interesting presentation of single tax and Socialism recently occurred. Mr. White took the affirmative in support of the assertion that single tax is more equitable than Socialism. He reiterated the arguments with which the late Mr. Henry George has made the world familiar, to the effect that without land man cannot exist and that, therefore, the land question must take precedence of all other reforms, and dilated on the injustice of the appropriation by individuals of the unearned increment created by society at large.

In Mr. Cantrell's reply he said in part:

"Equity presupposes equality. There can be no equity without equality. The whole competitive system can result in but one thing: the crushing of the weak by the strong through the clash of antagonistic interests. Not until we can organize the machinery of production and distribution for the common good can anything like equity be realized.

"If the land abuse were the only exploitation, I can understand how the single tax might meet the difficulty but there are other agencies in the system of exploitation.

"It is a machine age and the owner of the machinery of production and distribution can dominate the situation regardless of land ownership.

"At present we are in the tertiary stage of social growth. The religious idea is no longer dominant. The political idea no longer holds the center of the stage. We are now caught in the deep sweep of modern industrialism.

"The fight of the world today is the old, old fight—the fight for the democratic idea. The first great world struggle, historically speaking, was for the application of the democratic idea in religion. The next was for its application in government. Now, the struggle is for its application in industrialism.

"Our friend Lawson tells us that within ten years, if present tendencies continue the wealth of America will be in a dozen hands. I think I know what the American people will do. There are just two things that we can do: We can say to them 'All right, put the world under twelve hats. We surrender. We are willing that you shall be the masters of bread, therefore the masters of life. You are masters and we are your slaves.' Or, we may say to them: 'All right, you have taught us a good lesson. You have demonstrated the practicability of conducting world enterprises under one management. Now we'll take over these enterprises. You may come in with us. You may be one of us. We will put the machines to work. We will all have enough. We wish you no harm.'

"One of these sayings, I think, we will have to say. And I think I know which it will be. The answer of the people will not be a tax on land values. The answer will be the socializing of land with all other means of production and distribution."

Practical Christianity is Essentially Socialism

THE leading article in the Christian Socialist of June 1st calls attention to a subject of surpassing importance.

If money served but one purpose—to exchange my product for yours—we could have nought to say against its use. But sought as it is, for a thousand other purposes, with an eagerness which in many cases amounts to a perfect furor, money has become the most potent cause of the evils which afflict the body politic. I have had fifty-five years of experience as a minister of Christ. And I have to confess that for many years it has been "borne in upon me," that money is the occasion, if not the cause, of nearly all the meanness and crime in our civilization. The increase of selfish greed, cunning fraud, and terrible crime, is very discouraging to a sincere believer in Christianity as the sovereign remedy for all our ills and woes. For does not Holy Writ declare, that the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the Devil?

The teachings of Christ require unselfishness, integrity, a high sense of honor, magnanimity, purity, an intense love for others and interest in their welfare, and such an "enthusiasm for humanity" as to create in us a perfect willingness to sacrifice personal ease, comfort, and aggrandizement, for the sake of helping those who are in need of help.

But do we see much of this in these days? If we do not, what is the reason? The answer is, the existence and use of money, as it is supplied, and struggled for, and used in civilized countries. The necessity for getting money, if one would live. The control that money exerts over us, when it begins to accumulate in our hands. The disposition to worship money, and to worship the man who possesses much money. The Savior said, "Ye cannot worship God and mammon." But American Christians are trying to worship both. The Gospel warns us against the love of money, and that is, against the pursuit of it, for men pursue only what they love; against the accumulation of wealth; against the awful perdition into which the possession of too much money plunges men.

Practical Christianity is essentially Socialistic. Socialism, as I understand it, is eminently Christian. Individualism is right and necessary, to a certain extent. When Luther discovered the Bible and in it the way of salvation through a personal faith in Christ, and published it to all Europe, it introduced individualism. And individualism has led to all the triumphs, in modern times, of religion, political science, natural science, literature, useful arts, and commerce. But it needs to be limited by Socialism, or it runs into anarchy and self-destruction. Individualism means every man for himself. But the prevailing system of individualism and competition developes and promotes a selfish spirit. It inculcates and cultivates a crafty spirit, also. Under it, getting all you can, and keeping all you can get, becomes the great end of life. Socialism means, every one for his brother, as much as for himself. It would give employment to every one. It would guarantee a living to every one. The making of money, and heaping up of riches, would cease to be the chief object in life. Under Socialism and co-operation a man's sincere prayer would be one that is given to us in the Bible, *Give me neither poverty nor riches*. I have come to the conclusion that the existing economic or industrial system has hindered and prevented the triumph of Christianity, and if continued will prevent it forever. For how is it possible that the beautiful and lovely traits of character required in the Gospel, and exemplified in Jesus, can be generally developed and exhibited, when the maxims taught in the Christian home, in the Christian school, in the religious paper, in the marts of trade, and in every place of business, tend to develop and cherish the selfish and crafty spirit of the man of the world.

Give us Christian Socialism. Give every man and woman employment. The curse of my life has been that I was not required to work with my hands, and to take physical exercise, a few hours each week day, in the former part of my life. Give plenty of time for mental and moral improvement. Let every man, woman, and child have the God-given Sabbath for spiritual culture and uplift. And for the life and earnestness, the dilligence and enterprise, the enthusiasm and joy of living, which men have heretofore imagined could only be produced by money and competition, for these you may depend upon the Spirit of Jesus Christ waking in the hearts of the people.

T. K. D.

Christ was a carpenter, Paul a tentmaker. Were they living today they might, and probably would, rejoice in the helpful, benevolent and noble work of the labor unions of the world.—Labor Leader.

The American Co-operation Association has been launched in Elgin, Ill., and has taken its place in the business world as a promoter of the consumption of union-made products. The association assures trades unionists that it will establish any business the workers may desire in any city, and guarantee a profitable success.

The Elgin Trades Council and other unions, also reliable business men friendly to the labor union movement are interested in in the venture. The purpose of the association seems to be to supply a substantial method by which workmen themselves, or a trades union, may set up opposition to unfair concerns. It will likely prove a formidable weapon against the "open shop" employer, if properly appreciated by the wage-earners themselves.

Address the President, I. H. Brower, for further information.

SLAVERY

BY FRANCIS COUTTS

The ships pass up and down the sea,
  The cars along the land;
But where is the world's felicity,
  Or the people that understand?

Folk are trudging along the roads;
  Cannot you hear their tread?
They are stung with whips and stabbed with goads
  And driven until they are dead.

Around the world the poets sing,
  Embroidering fair design,
But how can songs of broidery bring
  Life to the undivine?

They sing the fierceness of the sea,
  The fairness of the land,
But where is the world's felicity,
  Or the people that understand?

The Socialists are "the people that understand;" and there are môre and more of them every day, thank God!

HAVE YOU NOTICED

That Mrs. Potter Palmer's season in London will cost $200,000 and that the working people of Chicago foot the bills but are not invited?

That working people can enjoy the summer by reading how much their superiors enjoy it at the summer resort?

That if you dig down deep enough into all the graft charges against labor leaders, the "best citizen" can be found lurking at the bottom of them?

That the people who oppose free text books for school children can afford to send their own children to college?

That the Democrats are discussing the advocacy of municipal ownership as a question of policy and not of principle?

That the vote of the Socialist Party grows in proportion to the growth of the dues-paying party membership?

That the whole banking system is not denounced by the capitalist press when a banker scoops in a lot of graft? But that the whole labor movement is condemned when [illegible] bribery by a capitalist?—Toledo Socialist.

HIGH above these things that change is the wise man with spirit
  well taught,
Who cares not what he feels,
Nor from what quarter blows the shifting breeze,
If but the holy motive of his mind go onward to the due and
  longed-for end.
For thus will he be able to remain the same, unshaken,
Pointing the simple eye of motive
Through many changing chances straight at Me.
The purer that his eye of motive is,
The straighter sails the vessel through the many storms.

THOMAS A KEMPIS

HOW TO GET BOOKS

For a club of six new subscribers to the Christian Socialist we will send you postpaid a copy of either of the following excellent ONE DOLLAR books:

The Captive City of God, by Richard Heath, of England. The best book on Socialism and the Church.

Rebels of the New South, by Walter Marion Raymond. The most delightful Socialist novel published.

The Recording Angel, by Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. So thrillingly interesting that people sit up till three a. m. to finish it.

The Evolution of Property, by Paul Lafargue, the celebrated French scholar.

The International Socialist Review, a monthly periodical of scientific Socialism.

The Being With the Upturned Face, by Rev. Clarence Lathbury, a remarkably inspiring work on the inherent grandeur and possibility of the human soul, beautiful in typographical art.

"The Soul's Love Letter," by Mabel, an artless autobiography of a good woman, revealing her aspiration, temptation, sorrow, struggle, joy.

For a club of eight subscribers we will send "Mass and Class," the great book by W. J. Ghent, price $1.25. Or,

The White Terror and the Red, by A. Cahan, one of the Terrorists, a timely, thrilling and instructive story of Russian revolution.

For a club of twelve subscribers we will send the Nestor of Socialist books "The Struggle for Existence," by Walter Thomas Mills, price $2.50.

For two subscribers we will send a copy of Robert Hunter's famous book, Poverty. Paper cover, price 25c.

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THE JOY OF A SONG

BY FRANK L. STANTON

I.

Sorrow and sighing—
    But grief's not for long,
Out of your sorrow
    The joy of a song!

II.

What are the [illegible]
    Of the desolate night?
Out of the darkness
    The lilies of light!

SOCIALISM AND THE CHURCHES

BY GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

As Socialism advances two changes will come about as the result of its contact with already established convictions. The first of these is that it will accept an idealistic view of the world or permit those who so desire to adopt that form of philosophy. The doctrine of materialism is not proven by modern science, in fact is rejected by it. The economic interpretation of history is in no degree dependent upon philosophical materialism for its justification. Therefore, those who are class-conscious, scientific socialists may accept any religion they choose that is intellectual and modern, and be fully justified in so doing. In a word, an American socialism will develop that will not in any way cease to be international in its spirit, but will adapt itself to the historic growth of our country.

Another change is that, more and more, the churches will adopt socialism as an expression of their spirit and purpose. We are beginning to see this tendency manifesting itself in many directions, but it will rapidly increase in the next ten years. In all Protestant denominations this movement will show itself, probably in some more distinctly and rapidly than in others. Theoretically it might be assumed that the denominations in which individualism finds the greatest expression will move most slowly in this direction, but the freedom and modern spirit of these churches will give them an advantage, and they may be expected to most quickly show their socialism.

It is not too soon for those who understand these tendencies to prepare for them, and to accept the task of guiding them in the way that will make them issue in the largest results. Some suggestions as to what may be done most easily and at once may not therefore be out of place. Others may add to these propositions, but these now presented have been suggested by judicious thinkers, and they have been carefully weighed as to their practicality.

1. In every city there should be a meeting of ministers of all denominations for the study of Socialism and all economic and social problems. Many ministers are not yet ready for open connection with Socialism, partly because of prejudice, and partly because they do not understand it; but they are ready for a class or club in which the subject in all its bearings may be studied intelligently. In this way prejudices may be removed, courage may be gained by association with others, and knowledge of great social issues may be enlarged. Wherever a half-dozen men can be brought together such a club ought to be organized. When a number of these are well under way it is possible conferences within a state or larger territory may be arranged. Such meetings would soon give dignity and force to the Socialist issue.

2. It must inevitably come about that as Socialism grows among ministers and churches more or less of these will be known distinctly as of this character. They will be subjected, as a consequence, to criticism, ostracism, and even to expulsion. Ministers will find themselves shut out from their profession, or they will be compelled to labor under conditions restrictive and disagreeable. As a rule it will be better for them to remain with their denominations and help in every way possible to leaven these with the Socialist spirit. This it will not be possible to do under all circumstances. Expelled ministers will be obliged to quit their profession or to organize Socialist or labor churches. In England there are several labor churches, and they are apparently prosperous. In all manufacturing centres many men and woman of the working class are out of sympathy with the existing churches, and nothing that ministers can do will bring them back again into church loyalty or attendance. Under these circumstances the organization of labor churches is demanded, and they will soon come into existence. In fact, at this moment scores of such churches would be supported loyally, if organized on a thoroughly Democratic basis, and if devoted uncompromisingly to the cause of social justice. When such churches come into existence it would be better for the ministers to retain their denominational connections, and even for the churches to identify themselves with any existing body willing to fellowship them. That such churches will come into close sympathy and fellowship with each other is to be expected, but it would perhaps be better not to attempt the organization of a new sect. What we need are genuine people's churches, that will know no distinctions of wealth or social standing, that will be thoroughly in sympathy with the cause of labor and social justice, and that will establish a real spirit of brotherhood.

3. To bring about any worthy results along these lines, methods of prompt communication and intelligence are required. The Christian Socialist ought to be made a weekly, brought to the attention of all ministers throughout the country, and a publishing house established in connection with it. We need propaganda tracts, larger pamphlets setting forth the social side of Christianity, and books that will bring out fully the new problems of religion and life. Most of the publishing houses will now bring out at their own expense any book that promises to have a considerable sale, however Socialistic it may be; but there are works of a special character that must be issued under more restricted auspices, and these should have their opportunity because of their great importance.

The pressure of economic conditions and the growth of social conviction are working together to increase largely the number of those ready to embrace Socialism. The rapid growth of the party and its ceaseless activity, however, have brought upon Socialism the severest condemnation and prejudice. A great work is before those who thoroughly accept Socialism, and who at the same time are not revolutionists ready to cut loose from everything spiritual and ethical in the past. What we need is a revival of the ethical spirit, and this can be brought about by Socialism more effectually than in any other way. What is especially needed is to bring home to ministers and churches the great service Socialism can render in this direction, and to convince them that no other power is capable of effecting this result of re-establishing justice and ethical motives as vital forces in the lives of men.

The writer wishes to hear from any who are interested in this subject. He is convinced that many are ready for the new ministry of religion, and for the religion that is genuine brotherhood.

49 Park Ave., Wakefield, Mass.

Social Heredity and Tradition

BY OSCAR F. DONALDSON

I was seated in a chautauqua audience last summer listening to a quiet, plain, unassuming man speak on this subject. That man was George Willis Cook. There was no oratorical effect, no catchy tricks. I found myself in a few moments listening, thinking, investigating and realized that this man was leading me. I had a feeling of confidence in my leader. He knew the way. I could think safely with him.

I looked about me and found my neighbors listening as I had been. Looking upon the speaker I mentally exclaimed "An Orator."

It was not heredity in the sense we are accustomed to refer to it, a predisposition to a line of thought, course of action or the use of a drug. This was a physical or mental trait. It is an instinct, said he, and is strongest in all animals that have a short pre-natal and post-natal infancy. When the embryo life is long, the infancy is helpless and parental care is demanded through a considerable period of time, the strongest influence exerted is from environment. Education, religion, art, science, family, friends, society in all its activities and nature are dominant factors in the creation of the individual.

The plastic mind sees no difference between nature and the social usages. It accepts the one as quite as absolute as the other. The family usages, the social customs, ideals, morals and rites come to the infant mind with the laws of nature. It learns them with the facts that it must avoid the fire, a fall, must have food, sleep, etc., and together they form his habits of thought and action. Not only do they appeal to his intelligence and reason but also to his emotions. These are "wrought into the very structure of his being by the appeal to feelings, emotions, the affections and by his tendency to approve what has become acceptable by tender associations."

It is the "preparedness" of society to accomplish this education or civilization in the individual which Mr. Cooke designated as social heredity. He appreciated evidently that it was difficult for even old thinkers to differentiate between the world of nature and the world created by the association of man. He took the case of a child and made us feel that we, with it had entered into a new home. About us was a habitable world, people, houses, clothes, occupations, landscapes, and weather. These were the real things at first. But soon we found about his child another life of moral habits, mental convictions, religious beliefs, and conventional social customs. The physical world still exists but the reality of this other world overshadows it. This latter world occupies his thoughts, governs his conduct and moulds his life.

Have you not experienced this? You have gone into a new town for business or social reasons and, if you will recall, you found these two worlds existing. At first it was the country, the resources, the buildings, the stir, the people and the outlook that took your attention and seemed to constitute the environment of the place. But as time went on you became aware of social customs, religious and political factions and intellectual peculiarities. You unconsciously adapted yourself to them according to your tastes and these became the real and lasting environments of the place. When you thought of the place it was the latter environment which was the subject of thought. Men and women stood in your mind amid this social environment holding the position and esteem that they were accorded by it.

Thus, said Dr. Cooke, social heredity creates the individual. Society becomes the foster-mother of each generation, gives them of itself, and moulds them into its own characteristics. She is organized that the young may receive the highest possible preparation for life and they are expected to accept it as the wisest and best.

As in physical and mental heredity we enjoy the advantage of centuries of human development so in social heredity we have a vast accumulation of human experience brought to us to extend the horizon of our vision and possibilities. All of folk lore, history, religion, art, science, business, etc., form the traditions of civilized man. This tradition is made the possession of man by social heredity, or the "preparedness" of society to impart it to the individual.

It is impossible to give the thought structure he created. But we may enjoy a review of the prominent features of his edifice. He called attention to the fact that tradition depends on language, written and spoken, but is not mere housewife gossip. It is the organized experiences and thoughts of those gone before given us by word, or song or written page. The individuals die but the group lives on, enriched by the added experiences, wisdom and toil of each generation.

Mr. Cooke was not speaking to a Socialist audience but to an educational assembly. Still I could not but see his evident application of the theme to our cause. It seemed to me that between his words was the thought:

Thus has Socialism come. Man began on the low moral and economic level of each for himself. Slowly the experience, wisdom and toil of the best minds lead to improvements in their thoughts customs and practices. These were transmitted until through the ages they have taken form and are known as religion, art, science, business, politics, etc. The dregs of ancient errors and falsehood still linger and the best and most aggressive minds of to-day are demanding that this error and falsehood go. Art, science, religion, business and politics, each contain an expression of this demand.

In art, it is the sympathetic portrayal of want, suffering and care in the innocent victims of error and falsehood. Art appeals to man for their freedom and salvation.

In religion, it is the breaking with priest-craft and superstition, and a demand for the simple truths of human life.

In business, it is the gathering together of the scattered wealth of the land, congesting and organizing it for attainment of the purposes of industrial life with economy and dispatch.

In politics, it is the demand that all the people possess, own, and use the wealth, energy and capital of the land for the common good of all. We might thus enter all the activities of to-day.

The social traditions of yesterday are undergoing a marked change in the hands of the leaders of to-day. This change will become part of the social tradition of the rising generation by the workings of social heredity. The men reared under this social heredity will be freed from many of the doubts, fears and misgivings of their predecessors and enter with a conquering faith into the work which is to-day undertaken with fear and trembling.

He did not express these thoughts, but his address led me to them and made me see clearer and more fully the wonderful development which has made possible the momentous problems of to-day.

The Czar might have acknowledged the right of the people to petition for redress of grievances without paying any more attention to the grievances than the United States Senate does,—The Detroit Free Press.

False Fears About Christian Socialism

BY W. B. GALLAHER

THE writer finds that among his materialistic Socialist friends there is what he knows to be a groundless fear that Christian Socialism is a sort of trap to betray the cause of Socialism into the keeping of the Church, which will long postpone the full practical realization of Socialism, by patching up temporary compromises between labor and capital, forcing a final bloody revolution of the working masses to gain their rights, in place of that intelligent revolution by the ballot which would otherwise result. This is an utterly baseless fear resting on a total misconception of what Christian Socialism really is.

Christian Socialism, from an economic standpoint, does not differ one particle from Socialism as understood by materialists. It is Socialism as pure, unadulterated and uncompromising as any conception of Socialism ever formulated by a materialist. Christian Socialism is Christian simply because it recognizes the MORAL character of economic Socialism as identical in spirit and meaning with the teachings of Jesus, the great fundamental one of which is that of the universal fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man.

Until the Church endorses economic Socialism, the Christian who is a Socialist must regard the Church, as such, as false to its true mission, the preaching and practice of the fundamental principles and precepts of Jesus.

The Christian Socialist, then, while hoping to convert the Church to Socialism, has no compromise to make with the Church to that end. He demands in the high and splendid name of Jesus, the "unconditional surrender" of the Church to the moral principles of Socialism as identical with the sublime teachings of the great Master.

While it is as uncompromising as the deepest dyed materialist Socialism can possibly be, it is at the same time, capable of reaching and converting to Socialism a large and influential class of religious-minded men to whom the advocacy of Socialism by men of pronounced materialist views is a means of prejudicing their minds against the claims of Socialism. Under this prejudice, it is next thing to impossible to get these persons to give that calm and patient hearing to Socialism which is necessary to their intelligent and free acceptance of its grand and glorious CHRISTIAN truths.

Socialism The Conserving Force

BY PAUL H. CASTLE

PLUTOCRACY hurls its anathemas at Socialism branding it as heretical and destructive. But the truth is, Socialism is the only power able to conserve the forces ordained to save Society.

The final resultant of Republicanism through the perfecting of trusts as private property, is an industrial oligarchy. This stands for all that is destructive and detestable to American ideals of human liberty.

Democracy is reactionary. It would stop the wheels of industrial evolution and throw commerce into confusion and final stagnation. It would reenact the fierce battle of competition which is now nearing its close. But this we need not fear for democrats are "impossibilists."

We are left then to choose between industrial oligarchy and industrial democracy. Republicanism stands for the former and Socialism for the latter.

If we are to heed the cry, "Down with Socialism", then we shall have the reign of industrial despotism. This the race would not, could not endure, and hence we would be plunged into a bloody revolution perhaps ending in anarchy and chaos. This also, it seems to me, will not, can not be. God did not make the world to end in "despotism" or "chaos". We are going onward and upward. This is science. This is faith.

The Communist Manifesto points out the trend of industrial evolution: "The bourgeoise is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it can not help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable".

If then our liberties are to be conserved, Socialism must supplant capitalism and supply the needs of society.

Central Park, Montana.

A PARABLE

"If in a hive a bee said, 'All the honey here is mine,' and if thereupon he began to dispose as he pleased of the fruits of the common labor, what would become of the other bees? The earth is like a great hive, and men are like the bees. Each bee has a right to the portion of honey necessary to her subsistence, and *if among men some lack the necessaries of life it is because justice and charity have disappeared from our midst*."—LAMENNAIS.

ITEMS FROM EVERYWHERE

EDITED BY GEO. H. STROBELL

Do you want to furnish some friend with literature that will be sure to make him or her a Socialist without cost to yourself? All NEW SUBSCRIBERS to the Christian Socialist may send with their subscription another name to whom will be sent a copy of the "Appeal to Reason" for a year without cost. Is not this an offer that will induce you to subscribe at once for the Christian Socialist. This offer is limited to one hundred copies of the "Appeal." Send us your new subscribers, we want these 100 copies soon to make 100 Socialists. Send them in quickly.

It strikes Socialist Christians sometimes that the International Socialist Review published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., of Chicago, exists more for the purpose of using the arguments that underlie the development of material things for the preaching of the religion of atheism than for the purpose of propagating Socialism. Its editors and writers may be possessed with the idea that in doing the one they are advancing the other. But Socialism does not depend upon the spread of atheism. The near approach of Socialism will purify and inspirit all religious life and cause the greatest revival of true religion the world has ever seen.

Religion is, as Kant says, a matter of belief, not as Comrade Unterman says sarcastically, upon authorities, but upon a revealed word and upon the spiritual experience of the soul. If we had not the proof in us, reenforcing the teachings of the past, and if our eyes were not constantly being opened to the wonderful fulfillment of God's word and to his ways in the world, religion would not endure a generation.

That is the fact, unknown and not experienced by the atheists, that confounds them and makes them utter words like these of Unterman.

"Of course, Kant had spoken the truth, when he said that theology must be believed. But what a strange fact, that all other schools of thought, especially the natural sciences and psychologies, should be compelled, under penalty of immediate ridicule, to demonstrate every iota of their theories by irrefutable evidence, while the champions of religion should be privileged to fling their unprovable assertions into our teeth and insist that they were speaking the truth, because it could not be demonstrated. And that from the man who had done more than any of his predecessors to undermine the world foundations on which this preposterous assumption is resting!"

Socialism which Comrade Unterman is working to bring about, is thoroughly in line with age old prophesies and explains many former mysteries in the teachings of scripture.

In order to raise money for an energetic campaign the National Committee has designed and prepared the Perpetual Campaign Coupons, made up in books consisting of ten 10 cent coupons, and ten 5 cent coupons, each with memorandum stub for use of the collector. When a contribution is received, you tear out coupons to the amount given and hand to the contributor. This makes a neat receipt, checks the collector, and the contributor does not have to sign his name.

The books ($1.50) are sold by the National Office to state organizations at 50c, and the state sells them to locals and branches at $1. This is a convenient and attractive method, and will bring results. Only a fraction of those who vote the Socialist Party ticket are dues paying members. All will contribute more or less if rightly approached.

Comrades, present this opportunity earnestly to more than 400,000 voters of the Socialist Party ticket, and the local, state and national organizations will keep the Perpetual Campaign in full swing from year's end to year's end.

Of all those arrested in Colorado charged with disorder and criminal conduct during the strike by the "Citizens Union" not one has been convicted, despite the utmost efforts of the "leading citizens" to browbeat officials, judges and jurors to secure conviction. Robert Romaine the convict in a Kansas prison, whose confession, that he and other strikers had blown up the Independence depot, was heralded as proof positive of the strikers guilt all over the country, has now confessed that he was bribed by an offer of liberty and $500 by one Frank Shaefer, an agent of the Mine Owners Ass'n., to concoct the story. The strike has gone into history but it is likely to prove the test of the manhood of the workers of Colorado for years to come.

Among the labor organizations in Denmark, is a Christian Federation. It is reported that this organization has 4,500 members and 170 branches. It is a part of the National organization, which contains 23,477 members. Nearly all of the labor bodies act politically with the Socialist Democratic Party.

The May Vanguard of Milwaukee, Wis., contains a good article of twelve pages written by Rev. A. M. Stirton, entitled Socialism and Prohibition. Our readers should send for sample copies. The writer pleads for a state of mind that will allow opposition to the traffic to be based on "patient scientific inquiry."

Prohibitionist as he is, he is convinced and makes a strong argument for a union of effort along Socialist lines. The reasoning and facts with some statistics are logical and follow so consecutively in their order that condensation is impossible. In closing he says:

We look to all who have striven and toiled to make this world better to unite with us in this grand International Socialist Party, moving forward for common possession of the means of producing the means of life, that every man may live unfettered and unfearing a truly human life.

"O Freedom, deepen thou a grave
Where every king and every slave
Shall drop in crown and chain
Till only man remain."

Nor let us cease, nor shall we cease till the last saloon, the last sweat-shop, the last vestige of aristocracy or poverty or of aught that has betrayed, profaned and disinherited man shall vanish from the earth like a horrid dream and all stand free in the liberty where Truth makes free indeed.

The Pathfinder of Washington devotes one and a quarter pages to Socialism. It is a Republican journal friendly to President Roosevelt. It says:

"Socialism, it must be admitted is the ruling topic of the times. No one knows what role it is destined to play in the world's drama; but regardless of future developments, it occupies the center of the stage at this time. The business of the student of affairs is to study events rather than to attempt to shape them, and whether people believe in Socialism or not they are nowadays called upon to know something about it.

"Most of our public men recognize that Socialism, in one sense or another, is spreading rapidly in this country. Just now the leaders of both the great political parties are doing their very best to get all the advantage they can out of the rising wind and wave and yet not be overwhelmed.

"The developments during the next three years leading up to the presidential election of 1908 will be watched with the greatest interest by all for there is little doubt that within that period the story of Socialism in this country will be told, one way or the other."

I come to preach on the text of love
From the gospel of brotherhood,
To help if I may in finding a way
That leads to the higher good;
To picture the light that is shining bright
On the Future's unturned face;
And to whisper a hope whose breadth and scope
Is as wide as the human race.

It is this: the hour is almost here
When the races shall rise as one,
And shall all join hands from the thousand lands
That are kissed by a common sun;
When the cannon's roar shall be heard no more
And the war-flags shall be furled;
When the lilly-white banner of peace shall float
O'er a union of all the world.—J. A. Edgerton in The Talisman.

Pat—I just played a great joke on the boss over at the factory where I've been working.

Mike—How's thot?

Pat—The boss is a great Socialist, you know. He says we working men are all slaves to a job.

Mike—What's the joke?

Pat—I just quit to show him I wasn't a slave to his old job.

Mike—What are you doing now?

Pat—Me? Oh, I'm looking for another job.—Appeal to Reason.

No wonder work has been dreamed of comparable with that by which, first, an area of 600,000,000 acres (larger than four times France and twice New York state), of dry, barren and savage wilderness, has been examined, surveyed and tested, and then taken in hand to be reclaimed for the use and habitation of man.—Maxwells Talisman.

If the government of our country can do this and use its sovereign right to impond water from rivers and lakes can it not farm the land and produce the necessaries of life. Why should it not do this and more too. That is what the people are asking themselves.

The Socialist movement is based upon fundamental principles which are world wide. Therefore the platform of all Socialist parties in all the countries are practically alike. The lines of division where there are many parties in one land are based upon plans or methods of procedure either of organization or propaganda. This is to be expected. There is a fine article on differences among Russian Socialists by Karl Kawtsky in the June International Socialist Review. He says:

"The less a movement apparently progresses, the more urgent the demand for new tactical methods, and the greater also the diversity of views concerning these methods. The smaller a movement, and the more secret, the more do differences of opinion of individuals gain in strength and power to influence party activity. Just as easily do these differences lead to divisions. Smallness of party, slowness of growth, and dissensions in the ranks generally go hand in hand. The last however is much more of an effect than a cause. The party is more often split because it is small and ineffectual, than small and ineffectual because it is split. Once a party movement becomes a great popular mass movement, gaining victory after victory, and the differences lose their force and significance, and as the conflict goes on the party becomes continually more consolidated and united—so far at least as it rests upon the interests of a single class, as does the social democracy. A party that includes various and often antagonistic classes, will on the other hand, more frequently incline to divisions than to closer cooperation."

The conquering leader rides in history;
The conquering army sleeps anonymous.
—John James Platt

The spectacle of Admiral Togo comforting Admiral Rojestvensky while he lay wounded in a Japanese hospital has aroused the sentimentalism of the world. Why not? They were not personal enemies. They were simply playing a game of commerce in the name of war. Their respective governments were contending for commercial supremacy in the east. It is a war for dollars—not for THE PEOPLE of either country, but for the commercial classes. The merchant feels no hatred for the rival he wrecks. Why should Togo?

Every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teachings of his Master, is at heart a socialist; and every socialist, whatever may be his hatred against all religion, bears within himself an unconcious Christianity.

The religion which has shaped us all, advocates as well as adversaries, has formulated in the clearest terms, the principles of socialism, and it is in Christian countries that socialistic doctrines have taken deepest root.

Equality of political rights leads inevitably to the demand for the equality of conditions, that is to say, the apportionment of well being according to work accomplished. Universal sufferage demands as its complement universal well being; for it is a paradox that the people should be at once wretched and sovereign.—Emile de Laveleye.

JUST AMONG OURSELVES

THE BERGER CASE

While we admit Comrade Berger made a mistake, we much regret the bitter manner in which he has been pursued and we gladly print the report of the Wisconsin State Committee which exonerates him. It is as follows:

The State Executive Board of Wisconsin has received from the National Secretary notification of the adoption, by 18 against 17 votes, of the Trautman motion as follows:

"The National Committee calls upon the State Executive Board of Wisconsin to proceed at once with an investigation as to whether a collusion, or secret or open understanding exists in the City of Milwaukee between the Social-Democratic organization, or a member or members thereof, and the representatives of capitalistic parties, and said State Executive Board be demanded to ascertain whether the endorsement of state candidates running on capitalistic party tickets in a Socialist paper has had the sanction and approval of the party members. In either case, if parties be found guilty of such gross violation of Socialist party ethics, they to be disciplined through the State Executive Committee to the extent required by adopted rules of the Socialist Party."

The State Executive Board of Wisconsin calls attention to Article XII, Section 4 of the National Constitution, which provides that "in states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such state or territory."

The State Executive Board also points to the fact that the National Committee has not awaited the investigation of the State Executive Board of Wisconsin, but has already removed Comrade Victor L. Berger from the National Executive Committee without having brought any charges against him and without a trial. The National Committee has thus anticipated the result of any investigation on the part of the State Executive Board of Wisconsin.

We therefore hold, for these and other reasons, that the National Committee has no right to expect an investigation of the case. However, for the sake of party harmony, and because we have nothing to conceal, we have ordered and held a thorough investigation. But we want it positively understood that this is not to form a precedent for the future, either for our state or any other, nor to invalidate Section 4 of Article XII of the National Constitution.

The finding of the State Executive Board of Wisconsin is as follows:—

First, that no collusion or understanding of any sort whatever exists, or at any time did exist, between the Social-Democratic Party of Milwaukee and Comrade Victor L. Berger and any capitalistic party candidate or candidates.

Second, that the reasons assigned by the members of Local Milwaukee for refraining from making judicial nominations we deem sufficient and weighty. These reasons were the lack of available candidates, the heavy party debt remaining from the two elections of last year; and the fact that the active workers, having gone through two exceedingly hard campaigns, were absolutely exhausted. Every campaign in Milwaukee, besides requiring thousands of dollars for literature, also demands months of tireless work, and Milwaukee comrades considered it necessary to further strengthen their organization before they went into another battle. It therefore would have been impossible to make an educational campaign under these circumstances. This decision of the Milwaukee Central Committee was confirmed by a referendum vote of the membership, which stood nearly five to one against putting up candidates.

Third, that no understanding or collusion with capitalistic candidates was ever charged against Local Milwaukee or Comrade Victor L. Berger, even by the capitalistic press or by any one of the nine candidates, only one of whom the Wahrheit particularly fought for reasons often stated. The charge was first made by a member in another state, and without a scintilla of proof or evidence of such collusion being given. Although the State Executive Board inserted a notice in the party papers, calling for evidence in this case from party members or non-party members, no one appeared who made any charge of collusion or presented any evidence in proof of any understanding having been entered into in Milwaukee with any capitalistic candidate.

Fourth, therefore we find, that the action of Local Milwaukee and its members was entirely in accord with the state and national constitution of our party, and with international tactics and the precedents of the Socialist parties in other countries. Milwaukee comrades did not go as far as the Socialists of other countries have actually gone, since in many countries agreements have been entered into between Socialists and other parties, while in the Milwaukee case, there was not the slightest understanding of the sort, as the result of this investigation shows.

Fifth, that the national and state constitutions and the principles of International Socialism have not been violated in spirit or letter by any members of Local Milwaukee in the local judicial elections. Neither the national nor the state constitution forbids a member to vote when there is no Socialist ticket in the field. Since the Milwaukee judicial elections took place, the National Committee has passed a rule forbidding such action, but since no rule can have an "ex post facto" force, therefore it could not have been violated in Milwaukee at the last spring election.

This finding of the State Executive Board is respectfully submitted.

(Signed)

F. Brockhausen,
Emil Seidel,
Jacob Hunger.
} Subcommittee.

Adopted by the State Executive Board.

The highest point in civilization can only be reached when the industrial class, on which the existence of Society depends, shall have attained to the principal position in the Commonwealth.—St. Simon.

Comrades have you tried to get the preachers in your vicinity to subscribe for the Christian Socialist?

A STRONG APPEAL

Comrades:

The Socialist Party has made Socialism the chief political issue of the age.

In the face of what appeared to be insurmountable obstacles, fighting against difficulties which would have haunted less determined spirits, the Socialist movement of America has attained a position which commands and holds the attention of the civilized world.

The devotion and determination evinced by the Socialist hosts have swept the political battlefield clean for the mightiest struggle of the ages. The Socialist Party stands unchallenged as the only party of the working class. To it the future belongs and the coming of Socialism awaits but its decisive action.

Your National Executive Committee has held its first meeting since the notable campaign of 1904. We have reviewed the work done by the Socialist Party and surveyed the field of its immediate operations and opportunities.

We rejoice at the outlook. No doubt dims the horizon of our hopes. There can be no failure. The working class will triumph.

The Socialist Party is prepared to meet all difficulties, however great they may appear. We welcome all obstacles as things to be overcome, emerging from each conflict strong in the increased wisdom gained and more fully equipped by experience for the great and final conflict.

The Socialist Party faces the future, a united compact organization, conscious of its own strength in devotion to its great mission.

The capitalist class is marshalling its forces for the coming struggle.

Temporarily resorting to various schemes of "Municipal Ownership." "Governmental Control," "Governmental Investigation" and other devices it hopes to turn aside the rising tide of Socialism and divert it into channels where its force will be spent and its purpose foiled.

The Socialist Party will meet the enemy on its own ground. We accept the challenge and will do battle until the Co-operative Commonwealth is established.

To conduct that battle the Socialist Party must have the sinews of war. We must be able to send our literature and speakers into every part of the country and no corner must be left untouched by the printed and spoken word.

What has been accomplished in the past can be supplemented and strengthened by our continued work in the future. Comrades, you can remit direct to the National Office or take advantage of the plan herewith submitted, whereby you can contribute to the Local, State and National Organizations at one and the same time. The National Executive Committee believes the required fund can be quickly raised and are confident that it will be. It was never needed more than now.

The Socialist Party depends upon you for its revenue because you are the ones to whose interest it is that this revenue be secured, because you are the only ones to whom the Socialist Party can appeal for funds.

Comrades, you are the Party. No corporation or any capitalist institution can be expected, or is requested to contribute to the Socialist "perpetual campaign."

Your National Executive Committee and National Secretary are prepared to take advantage of every opportunity presented and the success of our efforts will be in proportion to your response to this call.

Let every comrade do his duty and the Socialist Party will enter the National campaign in 1908 equipped as never before to meet and conquer the threatening army of capitalism.

Forward to the conquest of the public powers and the abolition of class rule and exploitation.

Fraternally Yours,

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Address all communications to and make remittances payable to J. MAHLON BARNES National Secretary, 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois.

SOMETHING PRECIOUS TO US

The following part of a letter from the talented and loving author of "Rebels of the New South" is so precious to us that we hesitated about printing it. But for the sake of the cause we print what refers directly to the paper. Such words are an inspiration and strength to us as we struggle with our heavy task:

Newark, N. J., May 20, 1905.

Beloved Brother and Comrade:—

I love the Christian Socialist and I love what you have to say in its columns, particularly under the caption "The words of Jesus." You do the thing so simply, so sweetly, so convincingly that it seems to me any honest soul is bound to be quickened to social righteousness. I wish I could help you, for I know full well what a struggle it is for you. But I am confident you will win out. You must. Your paper fills a need—a crying need—at this time, in that it appeals to the spiritual element growing towards Socialism, but who are repelled by other Socialist papers. The Christian Socialist is never flippant, never coarse, never vituperative. It is at all times filled with "a sweet reasonableness" that draws one.—Walter Marion Raymond.

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